

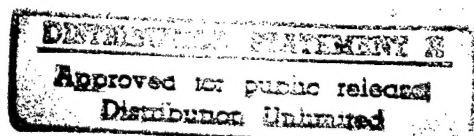


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No 6, June 1992



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[Article not translated]

**Renovate Agricultural Economic Management and
Expand Commodity Agriculture in Our Country**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 93 pp 5-9

[Article by Vo Chi Cong; not translated]

**A Number of Issues on Rural Development in the
Mountain Areas**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
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Science and Technology in Renovation

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**Renovating Inspection Work in the Present
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Research

State Ownership and the State Economy

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The Private Economy: The Direction of Development in Our Country

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No 6, Jun 93 pp 26-28

[Article by Nguyen Dinh Ton; not translated]

The Relationship Between a Market Economy and Politics in Our Country

933E0012A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 93 pp 29-31

[Article by Khong Doan Hoi, high-level specialist with the Marxist-Leninist and Ho Chi Minh Thought Research Institute]

[Text] The realities of renovation during the past several years have shown and continue to show that in our country's conditions, the economic organizations of society that follow the commodity production mode have achieved many economic results. This step is in accord with the natural historical process of economic development. From a small-peasant country that is moving toward socialism, our country's economy must shift from a self-sufficient economy to a market economy. This shift is a long-term process. It took capitalism several centuries—through the development of a market economy—to raise production to its present level of socialization. Without such a real level of socialization as this, socialism will remain a utopian idea. As for our country's economy, we must pass through that, too, although the time can be shortened as compared with the time it took capitalism.

Now that commodity production has been recognized as an objective requirement and something that must be greatly expanded, the relationship between the economy and politics has a new objective theme. This relationship is a relationship between the infrastructure and the superstructure.

This is not a one-way relationship in the sense that the economy is the decisive thing, with the state simply playing a passive role. When we say that it is the

economy that is the factor that determines social evolution, it means that we recognize the relative independence of politics (that is, the state) and the effect of politics on economic development. This effect, as historical reality has shown, can manifest itself in two ways. One is that politics can move in the same direction as economic development. In this case, politics can play a positive role with respect to the growth of the production forces and with respect to production specialization and coordination. The second is that it can move opposite to economic development. In that case, politics is an obstacle to the development mentioned above. Previously in Vietnam, because of rejecting commodity production, little was achieved in building the economy, and the economy grew sluggish and entered a period of crisis. After recognizing the mistakes, the party and state decided to shift to a new form of economic and social organization (commodity production). Thanks to this, very important initial economic and social results have been scored. Clearly, politics has played a positive role with respect to the economy. Or as Engels put it, politics has begun to manifest an effect in line with the direction of economic development.

But the positive role of politics does not stop there. Politics has the ability to hinder economic development or cause the economy to develop in a different direction opposite to that chosen by politics. Thus, politics must transform itself and have an organizational structure that correctly reflects the economic bases. There must be appropriate policies, positions, procedures, laws, and regulations, and an environment must be created so that the economy can grow in accord with the objective laws. A market economy does not, however, have just a general nature. It also has special characteristics. Because of this, politics in our country must adapt itself to the market economy in our country.

In history, commodity production existed before capitalism. Along with the general characteristics of commodity production, capitalist production relations put their own print on the economy—expanding and solidifying capitalism. Our country's economy is a multifaceted commodity economy, but it has a socialist orientation. What is very important here is to clearly define the contents of a socialist orientation. Naturally, when developing a market economy, particularly in a small-peasant country, the appearance of capitalist factors cannot be overlooked. But capitalism has the nature of a social system and is the means for building socialism, which are two fundamentally different points. What determines this difference is politics and the state. But it must be recognized that the relationship between a market economy and politics, with the people being the subject, is a completely new relationship for which there is still no perfect theory. This is a problem for which there is still no solution. If socialism is conceived of as a practical movement, there is nothing strange about this. It should not be thought that something that does not yet exist is something that cannot or should not be done. Because of this, reviewing practices is very important.

Based on Vietnam's practices and the experiences of other countries, in order to deal with this very new relationship between the market economy and politics, which has a socialist orientation, the "good" and "bad" aspects of commodity production must be seen.

Concerning the economic aspect, there has never been a more effective production organization than commodity production. In the present conditions of human society, this is a way to organize the economy to manifest the dynamism of the producers and businessmen. Because of this, the production forces will expand quickly, and people, as consumer targets, will be viewed as the final judge in determining the fate of the producers. This way of organizing production is effective because it operates based on a selection mechanism through competition among effective blocking factors. Unless the conflict between economic growth and social fairness is resolved, there will be conflict between economic development and politics, with the people being the subject. Marxist-Leninist political economics must find the answer. Experience shows that every market economy is regulated by politics, or by the state. The only difference is, Which politics and to whom does the state belong? This regulation is carried on using various economic, political, legal, cultural, and social measures.

Before going into specific measures, based on the experiences in regulating the markets, experiences that have a technical nature, one conclusion that can be drawn concerns the degree of regulation. How much regulation is effective? If there is too much interference in the economy, that will block its development. Conversely, if there is no interference, economic development will not follow the "driver." In the initial development conditions of a market economy (such as in our country), an "uncivilized," "speculative" market will appear, and this will have a very bad effect on production. This is because profits rely mainly on distribution, and distribution is valued using negative methods. A civilized market requires political and state interference. Without this, it will not be possible to block the tendency toward one-sided "marketization" or one-sided expansion of the production strength.

We advocate developing a market economy that is directed toward the target of gradually freeing the production strength and liberating people. Thus, from its very beginning, politics and the state must play a guiding role. But for this role to have good economic and social effects, this must start from the country's economic and social conditions and from the objective economic laws of commodity production.

The state economy must be solidified and expanded in all spheres of the production process. This must be regarded as the strong point and as the basis of the country's economic and political strength. But the state economy will be able to guide development only if it really characterizes the new and progressive production formulas. The guiding character of the state economy is tied to its vanguard nature:

The role of the macrocosmic guided economy must be fully exploited.

Very important economic activities such as finance, banking, industry, communications and transportation, the trading system, exports and imports, and so on must be understood and used effectively. Reserves must be created and used effectively.

Effective use must be made of the economic levers, and things must be regulated through controlling economic profits.

Socialist socialization must be implemented gradually with respect to production using suitable forms of ownership. In particular, joint ownership is regarded as the most suitable form in a market economy.

Effective use must be made of the legal tools, particularly the economic laws. A civilized market economy must operate based on the law.

The most difficult problem is the relationship between economic growth and social fairness. If emphasis is given to just one aspect, that will either crush the market economy or bring markets into existence but without socialism. Our party advocates encouraging activities to build wealth legally and eliminating poverty. Steps must be taken to implement this policy; otherwise, that will be just an empty slogan. However, in a market economy (even a market economy that is moving toward socialism), the maximum limit of fairness in distribution is fairness within the framework of bourgeois jurisdiction. Thus, there can be rational distribution only if it is recognized that unfairness is a rational point, too, and something that cannot be avoided. Production determines distribution, but distribution also affects production. The state must have measures to limit unfairness as much as possible.

The effect of politics on a socialist-oriented market economy is not limited just to the economic sphere but also encompasses the political aspect. What needs to be given attention is that the expansion of the multi-faceted market economy cannot be separated from setting socialist guidelines. Without a strong market economy, through which social production is socialized in reality, there cannot be socialism. Conversely, without setting socialist guidelines, which is actually the role of politics, there cannot be socialism.

In view of this, research must be done in order to find a rational political structure and form a state in particular and a complete political system in general in accord with the need to develop a market economy and enable the market economy "chariot" to heed the commands of the "driver."

The basic thing is to answer the question: Who are the subjects of the commodity economy in our country today? That actually means answering the question that Lenin posed when he admitted his mistakes and switched to the New Economic Policy: "Who are we?"

That actually refers to the subjects of different forms of ownership. With such a system of subjects, a new (or more accurate) concept concerning the people is needed. Who are the "people?" During the transition period in which we are moving toward socialism, the term "people" can be defined as "patriotic classes and strata that want to build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, and prosperous and strong Vietnam but that have different economic and social positions and interests and that are not identical. There will continue to be exploitation for a certain period. There are both progressive and backward elements and people."

With this concept, politics can greatly expand its sphere. It will not overlook anyone and will continue to play a positive role in the country. As for foreign affairs, we want to be friends with all countries in order to contribute to developing the country. The highest political requirement today is stability and peace so that we can concentrate on economic and social development and soon bring our country out of poverty. Thus, that is how the concepts "people" and "politics" must be understood today.

But understanding is not enough. The key thing is to talk about the rights and responsibilities of each person. Every obligation is tied to a certain right and conversely. Today, there is one issue that must be raised. That is the issue of democracy, with its character as a type of state in a multifaceted commodity economy that is moving from a small-peasant country to socialism.

It's true that we must gradually build a socialist democracy. But with the nature of such an economy, it's clear that our country's democracy can be only a transitional democracy. Furthermore, based on the evolution of democracy, with its nature of the evolution of human civilization, over a relatively long historical period and corresponding to a market economy, democracy in our country contains things that have not gone beyond the horizon of bourgeois democracy. There are things that we cannot ignore, such as developing the concept of "citizen," managing things according to the laws and living in accord with the laws, fully implementing the universal democratic rights recorded in the constitution, and building and operating a system of democratic state organizations, in which the legislative, executive, and judicial functions must be clearly differentiated and coordinated. All of these things are related to the issue of democracy, because a market economy requires this. And this corresponds to that economy. Starting from this requirement and in accord with this is a system of democratic laws on politics, the economy, culture, and ideology. In summary, a market economy is the basis for a new level of democracy, and that level of democracy cannot go beyond the framework of a market economy. The activities of a multifaceted commodity economy that is moving to socialism must be reflected in a broad alliance that includes patriotic bourgeois elements under the leadership of the vanguard unit of the working class, that is, in a national united front having Vietnamese traditions and following the great solidarity policy of

President Ho Chi Minh. That is the achievement of our people and nation from the August Revolution to today.

Planning and Markets: From Debates

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 93 pp 32-34

[Article by La Con; not translated]

Exchange of Opinions

Conference on Renovating the Leadership Formulas of the Party in Thai Binh

933E0012B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 93 pp 35-39

[Text] [Editor's note] With the aim of thoroughly understanding and implementing the resolution of the Third Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee (Seventh Term) on renovating and reorganizing the party, on 11 and 12 May 1993 in Thai Binh, the Thai Binh Provincial CPV Committee and the editorial staff of TAP CHI CONG SAN organized a conference to discuss renovating the leadership formulas of the party in Thai Binh. Attending the conference were many party leadership cadres and authorities from the provincial, district, and primary echelons in Thai Binh; many leadership cadres and specialists from TAP CHI CONG SAN; a number of theoretical research cadres from the Ho Chi Minh National Political Academy, the Marxist-Leninist and Ho Chi Minh Thought Research Institute, the Administrative Office of the CPV Central Committee, and the Organization Department of the CPV Central Committee; and representatives from a number of central and local press agencies. Chu Van Ry, a member of the CPV Central Committee and the secretary of the Thai Binh Provincial CPV Committee, and Nguyen Phu Trong, PGS, PTS, and editor in chief of TAP CHI CONG SAN chaired the conference. Twenty-six comrades who work in the locality and seven who are engaged in theoretical research at central organizations gave speeches. With a spirit of responsibility and constructiveness, those attending the conference exchanged views frankly, seriously, and very enthusiastically. The following is a summary of a number of the main contents. [end editor's note]

I. Renovating the Leadership Formulas Is an Objective Requirement

All of the articles sent to the Organization Department and all of the ideas expressed at the conference agreed that in the present situation, it must be strongly affirmed that the party is the decisive factor in the success of the Vietnamese revolution. We cannot advance to socialism without the leadership of the party. The party is the only entity that can lead the country and ensure that the country does not veer from the path of socialism. This is an historical necessity and an objective requirement of society on the path of building a new society. This is also the historical mission that the people and nation have

entrusted to the party. It certainly isn't a case of the party imposing its subjective will on society. The party's highest goal is to serve the fatherland and support the classes and people. Other than that, the party has no other interests.

Our party is the party in power. It is the only force that leads society, and it is responsible to all of society. Thus, the party must lead all spheres of social life, from the economic to the national defense, security, cultural, and social spheres. In short, as President Ho used to say, even the "smallest details" must be looked after for the people. The party leads all echelons, from the central echelon to the provinces, districts, villages, hamlets, and population groups.

In order to play its leadership role, the party must renovate and reorganize itself. It must renovate theoretical thinking, raise the level of intelligence, implement democracy within the party, strengthen its relationship with the people, renovate the organizational system and apparatus, renovate cadre work, and renovate the contents of the leadership formulas of the party.

Renovating the party's leadership formulas is a very important objective requirement, because the renovation of the country is being carried on intensively, particularly the renovation of the economic structure, the management mechanism, and the party and the reform of the state apparatus. We are resolved to switch from a self-sufficient economy to a socialist-oriented commodity production economy that is tied to markets. Following this path, we must renovate the political system, with the target being to democratize society and stabilize politics and the leading party. On the other hand, in the face of the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and the East European countries, many people are vacillating. Imperialism is trying to launch an attack on the leadership of our party and our system. More than ever before, the party must strongly affirm its leadership role and oppose the tendency to pluralize politics and have opposition parties. To do this, the party must renovate and reorganize itself. In this, renovating the leadership formulas is the most important element.

The target in renovating the party's leadership formulas is to elevate the position and role and improve the quality and leadership effectiveness of the party, increase the prestige of the party, strengthen the role and effectiveness of the state and mass organizations, maintain political stability, and exploit the integrated strength of the political system.

Since the Seventh Congress, along with renovating the various spheres of the country, specific steps have also been taken to renovate the leadership formulas of the party at many echelons and in many spheres. However, things are still sluggish and confused, particularly in the localities and at the bases. This is something that the party must study and review, and it must implement concrete measures in order to do a better job.

The leadership formulas of the party are a major issue. This is related to many aspects of political and social life and to the elements of the political system. This is a sensitive political issue that is related to man and to every citizen in society. The secretaries from Hung Ha, Thai Thuy, and Kien Xuong Districts and many other comrades said that the level to which the leadership role and position of the district- and primary-level party committees are elevated depends mainly on whether the party committees at those levels determine the leadership contents correctly. They affirmed that the districts and bases are the levels at which things are organized and implemented. Thus, the leadership formulas cannot be too general. The leadership contents must be specific and in accord with the conditions and aspirations of the masses in the locality. Also, they must be in accord with the lines and policies of higher echelons. The lines and viewpoints of the central committee, particularly the policies on economic and social development, must be studied and understood, and the concrete guidelines of the provinces must be adhered to. Because these are action echelons, there cannot be any clear-cut or mechanical division of tasks between the party and the authorities. This is manifested most clearly at the primary level. If a place has correct leadership contents, it will have good conditions and preconditions for renovating the leadership formulas, and the prestige of the party committee echelon and party members will rise.

That is the general understanding and so there is little confusion in the primary- and district-level party committees in Thai Binh about how to define the leadership contents. The leadership contents of the party committee echelons here are concentrated on the following:

Determining policies and action programs and implementing them, particularly the economic and social development programs.

Organizing the party apparatus, administrative apparatus, and mass organizations in the localities. Adhering to cadre work in all the elements (planning, training, using, and compensating), and building strong ranks of cadres.

Maintaining the control of the party, going deeply into controlling organization and implementation, and discovering the deviations in the work spheres, in the organizations belonging to the political system, and in those who head those organizations in order to promptly correct things and make adjustments based on the general guidelines of the party.

The party must actively renovate and reorganize itself and formulate effective and practical work methods.

II. Formulas and Mechanisms To Ensure the Implementation of the Leadership Contents

The contents of renovating the party's leadership formulas are quite varied and encompass many aspects and

many tasks that must be carried out as part of a long-term process. During the discussion, the representatives said that we must concentrate on solving the following problems:

1. Regulations must be formulated for work between the party committee echelons and authorities.

The party leads all spheres of social life, and the authorities manage things in all respects. Each sphere has different requirements and management methods. Because of this, there must be specific regulations for each sphere. It must be ensured that the party provides effective leadership but does not encroach on the work of the authorities. At the same time, party leadership with respect to the authorities must not be lax. After regulations have been formulated, every party member who works in an administrative organization must adhere to and enforce those resolutions and regard that as party discipline.

Formulating regulations is not easy. This requires political capabilities at each party committee echelon and a lofty sense of responsibility on the part of every party member there. Those at the conference said that the most centralized, most important, and most difficult leadership sphere is the economic leadership sphere. Only if the economy is led well, the economy grows, and the standard of living is good will the people have strong confidence. And if confidence is strong, we will have everything. Thus, almost all of the party committee echelons in Thai Binh have gone deeply into this. Based on the ideas expressed at this conference by representatives from the bases and districts, the economic leadership contents of the party and authorities in Thai Binh can be summarized as follows:

The party must improve the cadres', party members', and people's understanding of the economic development viewpoints and guidelines of the party and state in the new stage. These viewpoints are related to the issues of ownership, exploitation, hired labor, economic elements, planning and markets, prices and currency, distribution and social fairness, and so on.

The party must make correct decisions on economic policies, which includes specific programs and solutions. For example, based on the policy of the Provincial CPV Committee, Thai Binh is resolved to upgrade agricultural production from the self-sufficient, one-crop rice system to varied agricultural commodity production that is tied to markets. To implement this policy, the district party organizations in the province have formulated very concrete programs and solutions on building an infrastructure for commodity agricultural production, reviewed and formulated an economic development model, and defined the role and tasks of the party in commercial enterprises. The solution of Hung Ha, Dong Hung, and many other districts with respect to the infrastructure is to improve the fields; provide irrigation water; build and upgrade the inter-district, inter-village, and inter-hamlet communication routes; ensure that

commodity circulation is convenient; build electric power stations and bring electricity to the people in order to improve their lives and develop the occupations of each household; build television signal relay stations and broadcasting stations in order to provide information, particularly economic information, to the people in a timely manner; upgrade the schools; build and improve the public health clinics; and so on. The solution concerning varying agricultural commodities is: In addition to concentrating on intensive rice cultivation, there are many other plans concerning raising silverfish, cultivating special crops, exploiting the traditional occupations, expanding the coastal economy, and so on.

The province has many model districts whose economies are excellent. These include Hung Ha, Dong Hung, Tien Hai, and Kien Xuong. And in each district, there are model villages, with each village having model households and party members who are doing excellent economic work. The people at the conference provided many vivid examples, a few of which can be mentioned here. Of the 60,000 households in Hung Ha District, 1,000 are doing an excellent job economically. Each year, deducting expenses, these households earn an additional 10 million dong or more. In Nguyen Xa Village in Dong Hung District, only 5 percent of the households are poor households. In this village, 99 percent of the houses have tile floors and roofs. All of the households have cassette recorders, 30 percent have television sets, and 35 percent have motorcycles.

The party must control the work of organizing and implementing these programs and control the specific policies of the local authorities in order to maintain the orientation already decided on, ensure that the various-echelon sectors participate in implementing the policies put forth, and, in particular, give attention to the attitudes and responsibilities of the party members when assigned tasks.

While the party does these things, the authorities must promptly organize things to effectively implement the policies and programs. For example, in order to implement the above programs, the authorities must give attention to capital, seed, and technology, implement the tax policies, give attention to people, and so on. Hung Ha District has paved 100 km of district roads with asphalt, spread rock on all the inter-village roads, and ensured that all of the villages have power stations. Capital has been mobilized using a variety of forms, including mobilizing capital from the households and cooperatives, obtaining bank loans, and tapping provincial and national sources of capital.

In formulating operating regulations for activities between the party and authorities, experience must be gained on an on-going basis. Every place is different. The operating regulations for activities between the village party committee and village people's committee are different from those for activities between the party committee and the directors of the commercial enterprises and from those for activities between the party

committee and the heads of the professional units. In their speeches, many of the representatives said that having regulations is just one step. What is more important is to implement those regulations. There must be measures to review the implementation of the regulations. And when the regulations are implemented, specific tasks must be assigned to each element. Regularly reviewing things, learning the lessons, and supplementing things as necessary in order to perfect the regulations is one of the important tasks of each party committee echelon.

2. The model role of the party members must be manifested.

The party leads society through the party organizations and ranks of party members. Thus, to renovate the leadership formulas, the party must involve all the party members in revolutionary activities. Khuc Vy, the secretary of the Kien Xuong District Party Committee, asked: Are party members now refusing to carry out their tasks? Or are the party organizations not assigning tasks to the party members? He affirmed that both are to blame but that most of the blame belongs to the party organizations. The party organizations must make themselves more attractive, stop engaging in empty debates, and clearly define the tasks and battlegrounds as appropriate for each party member so that they can manifest their model vanguard role. The Hong Tien and Hong Viet village secretaries, the Thai Thuy District secretary, and a number of other comrades agreed with this idea and stressed that in renovating and reorganizing the party, the first thing is to increase the strength of the organizations and elevate the model vanguard role of the party members.

In order to assign work to party members, the party organizations must understand the party members and grade and evaluate each party member. The Kien Xuong District Party Committee said that the method that it uses is to have party members evaluate themselves, make observations, and undertake tasks on their own. The party organizations then use that as a basis for discussing things and assigning specific tasks.

After grading and maintaining the number of party members, Thai Binh put all of the party members in combat positions. The main battleground is the economy, with the target being to eliminate hunger and reduce poverty. All of the party organizations in the province require that the party members be able to carry on economic work, take the lead in economic work, and achieve excellent results in economic work. Evaluating the results of assigning work to party members, many comrades affirmed that once party members are put into combat positions and fight well, the party chapters and primary-level party organizations have much greater vitality, their solidarity is much greater, they are much more enthusiastic, and the model vanguard role of the party members in leading the masses is manifested much more clearly. Dong Son, Hong Viet, and Nguyen Xa Villages in Dong Hung District have more than 1,000

party members. Of these, 277 have changed activity forms, and the rest have all accepted tasks. The result is that 1,007 party members are carrying on economic work well, they have enough to eat for the time being, and they are earning an additional 1-3 million dong each year. Another 105 party members are doing an excellent job in carrying on economic work, and they are earning an additional 5-20 million dong a year. Only 26 party members are doing a poor job in carrying on economic work, and they are striving to reach an average level within the next one to two years.

Many people affirmed that Thai Binh has done a good job in changing activity forms and implementing satisfactory compensation policies for elderly and infirm party members. This experience can be summarized as follows: It was affirmed that the elderly party members who have made contributions to the party and the nation can serve as models for younger party members. Now that they are older and unwell, these party members must be looked after, and steps must be taken to enable them to engage in suitable activities and struggle. All of these people must maintain their quality, voluntarily request a change of activity, and be unified by the chapter committee and CPV committee. These people should be exempt from the regular work, regular activities, and regular reviews. They must be provided with information once every three months. Their health must be looked after, and the social policies must be implemented. They must be issued certificates showing how long they have been in the party without violating any laws or party-party member standards. The experiences of a number of places in Thai Binh show that doing the above things helps to raise the prestige of each party member and enable the party organizations to implement their leadership formulas well.

3. Organizations and cadres:

The party leads society and the administration not only through the party members but also through the party organizations using democratic methods and persuasion. Thus, how the organizations are organized is a very important question. Discussing this theme, those engaged in theoretical work at the central echelon and those who work in the localities all agreed that today, our apparatus is still cumbersome. It has too many levels, and in many places there is a fear that the party's leadership role will be lost. Thus, they agreed that the apparatus must be streamlined and made more effective, duplication must be avoided, and the intermediary levels must be eliminated. Bold steps must be taken to simplify the staff. The party must have a rank of excellent cadres who can hold key positions in the administration and in the state enterprises.

The problems of "combining" a number of positions was an issue that was debated very vigorously. This issue was raised both by village and district comrades and comrades engaged in theoretical work at the central echelon. The basis for this unanimity is that our party is the party in power. The party must be the "embodiment" of the

administration by sending talented key cadres of good quality to work in administrative organizations. In the districts, villages, and hamlets, there are many tasks that are very difficult to distinguish clearly as either administrative tasks or party tasks. Whenever the people see that something is not being done in a timely manner, they usually complain to the party or the secretary. On the other hand, occasionally, in some places the secretary has also performed administrative tasks. Today in Thai Binh, almost all of the party chapter secretaries also serve as hamlet chiefs. In many villages, the secretaries also serve as chairmen. In those places, the staffs have certainly been reduced, but the work gets done smoothly, there is good internal solidarity, the movements proceed well, and the people have confidence. And because there are fewer cadres, they are compensated better.

Most of those at the conference agreed that at the bases, a number of positions should be "combined." However, there was still disagreement on models, solutions, and the way to proceed. Some places have begun "combining positions. The secretary in Hong Viet Village, for example, affirmed that "combining" positions is good, but the following conditions must exist: The party organizations and collectives must be strong, the party members must be assigned work, the cadres must be capable people of good quality, and party control work must be carried on regularly and effectively. The basic point is that specific and clear work regulations must be formulated.

The purpose of "combining" things is to improve leadership results, raise the prestige of the party, and manifest the role and effectiveness of the administration. Thus, this must be implemented wherever possible. However, in places where this is not possible, no attempt should be made to rush this. "Combining" the party and administrative positions in the villages and hamlets is different from "combining" party and technical positions in the professional organizations and production units. Also, combining things at the village level is different from combining things at the district and provincial levels.

The key to this plan is the cadres. The cadres must have standards and good quality. Thus, much attention must be given to cadre training and cadre policies.

"Combining" positions does not mean "dissolving" the party in the administration or eroding the boundary between the administration and the party. In combining things, steps must be taken to prevent work from piling up and to prevent dogmatism and authoritarianism.

The primary, district, provincial, and central echelons are united in one system. If the bases and districts change the organizational structure, that will obviously affect the guidance methods and cadre training, use, and compensation policies of the party in general. Thus, the steps taken to renovate the apparatus and cadres in the localities must always be in harmony with the steps taken to reform the state apparatus at the central echelon. Many

people said that there should be test points in "combining" positions at the district echelon.

4. Methods of assembling the masses in the new mechanism:

Almost all of the people at the conference said that mobilizing the masses is not as simple as in previous stages. To assemble and to educate and persuade the masses, there must be concrete benefits for the masses, primarily economic benefits. The party organizations and mass organizations should not wait for new factors or models. Instead, they must create models and new factors and use those to spread propaganda and persuade the masses to follow them. That is the most effective way to mobilize the masses. The activities and model lives of the party members in their own families, villages, and hamlets are the best models for persuading the masses.

Renovating the leadership contents and formulas of the party is very complex. All of those attending the conference agreed that this must be carried on gradually, that tests must be conducted at each echelon, and that experience must be gained gradually. Those engaged in theoretical work at the central echelon praised the efforts and creative work of the Thai Binh party organization and affirmed that party renovation and reorganization in Thai Binh has been carried on in an active, creative, and careful manner. Through the realities in Thai Binh, we can see many of the common problems of the entire country. The achievements scored by Thai Binh in trying to renovate the party's leadership formulas have provided many good experiences and many good ideas that can be implemented.

Both those engaged in theoretical work and those engaged in actual work agreed that steps must be taken to clarify a number of issues: The issue of the party leading at a time when we are developing a multifaceted commodity economy using a market mechanism. The issue of the party's power (Is the party the power organization and what is the scope of the party's power?). How should the party and state organize the apparatus? The relationship and operating mechanism of these organizations. The issue of renovating the leadership contents and formulas of the party in the private economic sector and in joint enterprises with foreigners, in the professional administrative organizations, and in the subwards. Should combining party and administrative positions be done only at the primary level or can this be done at all levels? And so on.

All of those attending the conference said that direct exchanges of opinions between those engaged in theoretical work at the central echelon and those engaged in actual activities in the localities is a useful and practical method that should continue to be applied in order to review the practical experiences.

Problems in Renovating the Party's Leadership Formulas in Thai Binh

933E0012C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 93 pp 40-44

[Speech by Chu Van Ry, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and secretary of the Thai Binh Provincial CPV Committee]

[Text] As the party in power, naturally, our party is responsible for providing leadership in all spheres of social life. In the new situation, from the central echelon to the localities and bases, the party must have suitable leadership formulas in order to improve the quality and effectiveness of its leadership. At the same time, the role and effectiveness of the state and mass organizations must be exploited, and a dynamic and effective political system must be built. Here, I would like to discuss just a few specific aspect of renovating the party's leadership formulas in Thai Binh in the hope of contributing ideas on this problem from the aspect of the actual activities and guidance of a locality, because this is a very new, complex, and pressing problem today.

Renovating the party's leadership formulas must, of course, be carried on simultaneously at all four echelons: the central echelon, the provincial and municipal echelon, the district and ward echelon, and the primary level. But the primary level is the most concrete and most varied level. For example, in implementing Politburo Resolution 10 (6th Term) on turning peasant households into independent production units, the roles of the production units and of the cooperative management boards will change immediately. Thus, the party organizations must renovate their leadership contents and formulas. That includes reorganizing the apparatus, redistributing the work among the party members, and [changing] the leadership methods and modes of operation as appropriate. And now that we are shifting to a market economy, the private economy has suddenly come to life. Because the leadership formulas have not been changed in a timely manner, in setting guidelines and managing the economic elements, we have exposed a number of shortcomings: state-operated and collective production is stagnating; the workers and civil servants don't always have enough work; the labor forces at the private production installations are increasing rapidly; and the party has not maintained the economic elements or assembled the masses in a clear manner, which has led to the party abandoning the battlefield. This has led to many other shortcomings concerning economic and social control, the administrative machinery, and the mass organizations. Manifestations of confusion in leadership and a lack of unity in managing things are quite clear and, in many cases, quite serious. This shows that in renovating the country, once the new mechanisms have been put into practice and manifested an effect, the old leadership formulas are no longer suitable. The gap between revolutionary practices and leadership formulas

has generated sluggishness and confusion, particularly at the bases, and this has affected unity within the party and in society.

Because of the confusion in defining the leadership formulas, the deviations at the primary level usually show two tendencies: either a tendency to encroach on everything or a tendency to let things drift. In some places (usually in economic units), the authorities usurp the role of the the party committee echelon. And there are places where the party committee echelons and authorities have turned their backs on each other. But the general tendency is to shift from doing everything to letting things drift. Unless timely action is taken to correct this, this will result in the party primary-level organizations making rather serious mistakes. This is because there is only a small gap between laxness and arbitrariness and loss of leadership rights, which could occur at any time. Reality at the party primary-level organizations in Thai Binh in the years of carrying on renovation show that few of the party members know how to participate in the movement in order to fulfill their responsibilities to the organization.

1. From the realities of Thai Binh, we can see that in renovating the party's leadership formulas, the key problem is to clarify the relationship between the party with power and the law-governed state.

In the national democratic revolution, our main task was to defeat the enemy and save the country. In that situation, the party had to provide leadership and organize and manage things. Now, that formula is no longer appropriate. In order to continue leading the revolution, the party must renovate its power-holding formula and clearly define the functions, tasks, and rights of each element in its political system.

Some comrades are concerned that the party leads the state, but the party must operate within the framework of the constitution and laws. Thus, who controls and manages who? Where does the party stand in the political system? If the party stands above the state, then the party will become a state sword. If the party stands behind the state, it will be eclipsed or lose its leadership role. If the party stands even with the state, two power organizations will exist simultaneously. In my view, the strength of the power-holding party must be in the state and equal to the state.

We have long been familiar with the formula the party leads, the state manages, and the people serve as masters. But in implementing this formula, things have frequently been distorted and done in a lax manner. The problem is to clearly define the functions and tasks of each organization. But regardless of how things are defined, it must be affirmed that our party is the party that holds power.

The leading task of a party that holds power is to formulate policies and lines. But along with this, it must put forth suitable policy mechanisms, control things

strictly, grasp cadre work, and employ the cadres correctly. Once there are policies, lines, and policy mechanisms, the next problem is to determine the subjects of each element and job in managing and regulating society. Only if this is done will party leadership really be orderly and strong.

Reviewing the process of economic renovation, we have achieved results because of attacking the management mechanism. In renovating the economic management mechanism, wherever we have defined the management subjects correctly and clearly, we have achieved success and conversely. Defining them as independent economic units in agriculture is a typical example. The achievements in agricultural production in Thai Binh clearly stem from the fact that the peasant households have been allowed to carry on independent commercial production activities on their own plots.

We have been using the following mechanism for a long time: the collective leads, the individual takes responsibility. But in reality, the roles of the collectives and individuals are not clear, and this has led to many conflicts and disputes, with people refusing to take responsibility for the work. Perhaps we can now define this mechanism more clearly as follows: the collective leads, the individual commands. If this mechanism is implemented, we should be able to overcome both the lack of democracy and anarchic liberalism.

In providing practical guidance, one issue about which we are very concerned is reexamining the entire organizational system and resolutely abolishing those organizations that do not have clear functions or that overlap other organizations. For example, we think that from the district level on down, these are the echelons responsible for organizing and implementing things. Thus, the legislative organizations at these echelons, such as the district people's councils, are no longer needed. The party organizations at these echelons not only put forth general guidelines but also put forth specific policies and measures to implement the policies. Thus, a number of party and administrative organizations with the same functions can be combined based on the guideline of maintaining the party committees at the various echelons as at present but legalizing them with respect to the state so that they can manage tasks now being carried out by state organizations. For example, the propaganda and training department and the cultural and information office can be combined, party control can be fused with state inspection, party organizations and administrative organizations can be combined, and the party economic department and the State Planning Commission can be combined. The same is true for the school system. Party schools can be integrated with administrative schools and mass organization schools to form cadre training schools at each echelon.

Based on the actual situation regarding the ranks of cadres, a number of the functions of the key cadres at the primary level can gradually be integrated. For example, the village party committee secretary can serve as the

president of the people's council or as chairman of the village people's committee, and the secretary of the party chapter can serve concurrently as hamlet chief.

In Thai Binh Province, there are eight districts, 285 villages and subwards, and 2,708 hamlets. After implementing Resolution 10 of the party, Thai Binh was the first province to serve as a test point, and throughout the province, rapid progress was made in eliminating production units and establishing hamlet authorities (an incomplete echelon). Initially, each hamlet had a party chapter secretary and a hamlet chief. Now, in most of the hamlets, the party chapter secretary serves concurrently as the hamlet chief. Reality has shown that this model is very suitable.

Today, we are testing combining things at the village level. In a number of villages, the party committee secretary is serving concurrently as the chairman of the people's committee, and in one village, the chairman of the people's committee is serving concurrently as the director of the cooperative. Reality has shown that this model is manifesting a good effect. So far, there have not been any negative phenomena.

Based on the test results at the village level, many people have said that tests should be conducted at the district level. Many people have said that the leadership and management apparatus in Thai Binh is too big and cumbersome and that it wouldn't hurt anything if it were cut in half immediately. There is a real basis for that idea. Since 1988, Thai Binh has carried on two campaigns to reorganize things and reduce the size of the staff. But to be frank about it, we can continue to simplify the apparatus. Through these two campaigns, we have reduced the size of 19 services, departments, and services directly subordinate to the provincial CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] committee and provincial people's committee by 30 percent. We have cut 65 percent of the offices and committees subordinate to the services and 37 percent of the offices and committees subordinate to the districts and cities. The village-echelon apparatus has been reduced by more than half. Even so, in general the quality and results of the work have continued to improve. Take the village level, for example. Today, even though the control staff has been allotted a maximum of only 13 cadres, in general, almost all of the villages have managed to complete their political tasks well or even do an excellent job.

2. Based on the actual situation in Thai Binh, it is clear that renovating the party's leadership formulas requires raising the banner of assembling the masses and attracting and encouraging the masses through their vital interests.

Since the sixth congress, the party has constantly given attention to mass work. But in reality, the ability of the party organizations to assemble the masses has declined and exhibited shortcomings. The mass organizations established by the party have not coordinated things and failed to achieve results. The main reason is that the

party has not really renovated its formulas in leading and mobilizing the masses. Concrete manifestations of this are:

First, the party has not clearly defined the essence and operating formulas of each mass organization. The time has come to organize the mass organizations in such a way that they can operate in accord with the spirit of "voluntary, self-governing, and self-sufficient with respect to expenditures." But with respect to each mass organization, there must be different methods depending on age, occupation, and sex. Today, given the conditions of a market economy, encouraging the mass organizations to carry on activities based on simple political guidelines is no longer suitable. The party must guide the mass organizations, and the mass organizations must really change their activities so that they have a broad social character, so that they are tied to the economic and social activities, and so that they manifest the vital interests and desires of each member. That will result in youth union members and association members participating in carrying out the political tasks of the party. Because of changing directions, a number of organizations such as the women's association and the elders' association have begun creating good operating capabilities. Many associations tied to occupational specialties that have a technical economic nature are operating rather vigorously. However, a number of very important mass organizations remain unattractive to the masses. For example, only half of the youths are participating in the youth union in Thai Binh (although youths account for 20 percent of population in the province). The same is true of the labor union. One of the reasons cited is that because industrial production is stagnating and the workers don't have much work, trade union activities have slowed down. But it needs to be pointed out that more than half of the trade union members in Thai Binh are civil servants. Most of these people have stable jobs and stable incomes. On the other hand, there are many workers and laborers in non-state enterprises, but the trade union has not been able to get them to join. In the final analysis, the real problem is operating formulas.

Second, the party does not have suitable forms to manage the party members. In attacking the enemy, we were able to infiltrate party members into the ranks of the enemy and into the strategic zones of the enemy in order to carry on mass mobilization work. But in mass agitation work today, we lack similar abilities. Recently, we advocated developing a multifaceted economy and so it is essential that party members directly participate in leading the private economic organizations. But we are very confused by this work, because we have not been able to provide a clear solution to the labor problem and the problem of exploitation. In my view, party members must rush to the economic battlefield, become deeply involved in the economic activities of the various elements, and use the policy mechanisms of the state to guide the elements along the path pointed out by the party. (Naturally, the leadership contents and methods for each economic element will be different.) At the same

time, each party member must know how to carry on economic activities in his own family and be able to prosper legitimately through his own capabilities and labor strength. Party members must help the families around them and help create jobs for themselves and others.

Today, we are building socialism with a very clear target: a prosperous people, a strong country, and a civilized society. Most people agree with this target. But in order to have the strength of the revolutionary movements, this target must be concretized through practical norms. Based on the practices of Thai Binh, we can affirm that we do not lack the revolutionary emulation movements of the masses. The problem is that we must launch the masses with practical themes that are related to the feelings and interests of the people. For example, in Thai Binh, there is a level-1 rice variety movement in Thai Binh and a movement to transfer technology to the peasant households. There is also a movement to build the new rural area and to build rural communications and electric power projects. These movements all have a very practical nature and so the masses support them and are actively helping to implement them. Billions of dong have been mobilized from among the people and from the state for each village, but all the people must be enthusiastic and the villages must emulate with each other. Those are the preconditions for exceeding the norms.

Something else that needs to be mentioned is that if we enable the party members to struggle well, renovate the propaganda and education forms, and renovate the methods and contents in examining people for entry into the party, people, particular youths, will be enthusiastic about joining the party.

3. Renovating the leadership formulas of the party is related to renovating cadre and party member work.

Renovating cadre and party member work must be viewed as a theme and also as a factor for ensuring that the renovation of the party's leadership formulas achieves results. But all formulas need people to put things to operation.

The party must unify cadre leadership and management. Laxness in cadre work weakens the leadership role of the party. Recently, the party has had to carry on cadre work based on a spirit of renovation, meaning that it has had to renovate everything from evaluating, organizing, and using the cadres to redefining cadre standards, cadre policies, and training and selection methods and appointing and exempting cadres. Cadres may or may not be party members, but they must have the confidence of the masses, and they must submit to the leadership of the party and be loyal to the lines of the party.

Cadre functions must be clarified and standardized. Suitable standards must be set depending on the type of cadre. However, emphasis must be placed on standards concerning political theory, economic management,

state management, culture and the laws, technology, and foreign languages. Based on this, plans must be formulated to train and retrain the cadres. Today, the cultural and political theory standards of the ranks of cadres in Thai Binh have improved, but their knowledge concerning economics and society is still below standard. We are giving attention to improving their knowledge concerning state management and economic management.

During the years in which we have been carrying on renovation, particularly since the seventh party congress, Thai Binh has regularly held classes for cadres from the provincial to the primary level. The party school and the administrative school are usually crowded with students. Besides this, the on-the-job economic schools are opening many specialized training classes. Thanks to this, the standards of the cadres in Thai Binh have improved. And what is even more important is that they have been given the knowledge that they will need to carry out the work at the primary level.

According to the data, this term, 45 (91.2 percent) members of the provincial party committee echelon have advanced, college, or post-college standards. Of the 272 members of the district and city party committee echelon, only 9.8 percent have a level-2 educational standard; 90.2 percent have a level-3 standard or higher. Of the 2,090 members of the village party committee echelon, more than half (50.7 percent) have a level-3 standard. Not one member has a level-1 standard. And 123 comrades (5.8 percent) have a college or advanced standard. About one-fourth (514 comrades) have a middle-level theoretical standard, and more than one-half (1,140 comrades) have a primary-level theoretical standard.

Cadre evaluations must also be made in an all-round manner. Present social tendencies are stressing morality and the way of life. Corruption, authoritarianism, bribery, idleness, and acts that waste the money of the state and people must be dealt with harshly. That is a correct attitude. But it must also be realized that another very serious danger to renovating the leadership formulas of the party is "passive implementation," which is a "disease" that affects many cadres. This disease stems from the old collective way of working, and in part it stems from the cadre selection mechanism, which is biased toward submissive cadres. This has created cadres who do not dare to act or take responsibility and who are not dynamic and creative.

Cadres must be appointed or exempted based on clearly-defined and concrete standards. Cadres who do not have sufficient qualities and cadres whose standards do not match the tasks assigned must be exempted. At the same time, cadre transfers must be carried on in a planned way, the test and training intentions must be manifested, and cadres who lack the skills to perform this task should not be assigned even more important tasks that they know nothing about.

Recently, implementing the resolution of the Third Plenum of the CPV Central Committee (Seventh Term), Thai Binh evaluated and classified the leadership cadres at the various echelons in the province. The results showed that of the cadres who are managed by the province, 40 percent have the capabilities to grow, 44.8 percent are stable in their work, and 15.2 percent need to be replaced. Of the cadres who are managed by the provincial-level services, boards, and sectors, 29.5 percent have the ability to grow, 54.7 percent are stable in their work, and 15.8 percent should be replaced. Of the cadres who are managed by district and city boards, offices, and units, 30.7 percent have the ability to grow, 55.4 percent are stable in their work, and 13.9 percent need to be replaced. As for the village and subward key cadres, 36.1 percent have the ability to grow, 49.8 percent are stable in their work, and 14 percent need to be replaced. Naturally, the standards for evaluating cadres must continue to be improved and so the above classification is not completely accurate. But this classification does show that the situation regarding our ranks of cadres is something to worry about, because in reality, only about 25 percent of the cadres have the ability to grow. One-half of the cadres are stable in their work. This means that they need to be motivated and that in a relatively short period, they will join the ranks of those cadres who need to be replaced, raising the total percentage of such cadres to approximately 75 percent.

Along with renovating cadre work, we must renovate the party members. To renovate the leadership formulas of the party, all of the party members must be engaged in revolutionary activities. We advocate that each party member have a specific task. The party members must be controlled and supervised by the party organizations, and they must be evaluated and classified. Those who fail to meet the party member standards must be dealt with using appropriate forms. In order to do this, applying Article 7 of the party statutes, we are implementing a policy of "changing the form of activities" for elderly party members. The basic spirit is that the party chapter will exempt elderly party members (if they volunteer) from work, from regular activities, and from participating in classification. But the names of the party members and their rights will be maintained as before. After a test period, because of having made careful preparations and having suitable steps, most of the elderly party members have responded positively to this. These comrades see that they are respected, that they have the affection of the party, and that they have not been "chased" away or "neutralized" as some had feared when this was first implemented. The remaining cadres are people who must be thrown into the movements and who must speak out and take action. Thus, the organizational leadership, manner of work, operating behavior, and work style of many party bases have been renovated, and good results have been achieved.

We think that in the face of all the problems concerning building the party, it is essential to have close and effective coordination between theorists and those

directly guiding things. We welcome the fact that TAP CHI CONG SAN suggested organizing a conference in Thai Binh on renovating the party's leadership formal, which is a subject that has many difficulties that need to be resolved and that is a pressing requirement.

The ideas of Thai Binh originate from actual problems that have arisen in life. Some ideas are still being pondered. Other ideas have been recommended. Some themes are being developed or tested. In any event, we hope that you will exchange opinions and give your ideas.

The New Needs of the Peasant Household Economy in the Mekong Delta*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 93 pp 45-47*

[Article by Nguyen Van Tuat; not translated]

The Issue of Distinguishing Cadres*933E0012D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 93 pp 48-50*

[Article by To Tu Ha, deputy director of the Government Cadre Organization Department]

[Text] Along with reforming the state management system, we must renovate the ranks of cadres and build suitable ranks of cadres. To do this, a good job must be done in distinguishing cadres.

Today, we have many cadres encompassing several generations: the generation tempered in the long and difficult revolutions, the generation that received rather basic training in domestic and foreign schools and that has matured in the process of building the country during the course of the past 20 years, and the young generation that has matured in recent years. Our ranks of cadres have great potential, but because of the effects of the wars, of the old economic mechanism, and of the old organizational and managerial methods, they have not manifested all of their capabilities and standards. A number are confused and have shown a lack of strength in the face of the new tasks. For a long time, we have mixed all types of cadres (political cadres, economic cadres, and other types of cadres). We have made them identical and managed them using the same model even though they have different qualities and work characteristics.

Even though many improvements have been made, in general the state's cadre policies are still too general and do not correctly reflect the special characteristics of each type of cadre. In evaluating, assigning, using, and compensating cadres, many places have failed to do things in an efficient manner. This situation, which has been going on for a long time, has done great damage. That is, this has made it impossible to exploit the talents of the cadres or create a rank of cadres suited to the new tasks. When helping us to improve the control apparatus, many international organizations and foreign specialists with experience in state management and human affairs management have said that we have potential concerning our cadres but that we have not specified the requirements and standards of each type of job and each type of cadre.

Clearly seeing these shortcomings, for many years we have striven to improve cadre work, but things are still in disorder. Actually, cadres must be distinguished first before specific functions and standards can be determined. But we have done just the reverse. The result is that selecting people is easy, but once they have been selected, it is very difficult to assign them. A person whose speciality is A is not assigned to job A but to job

B instead, and a person whose speciality is B is assigned to job A instead of job B. This way of doing things has not led to progress. Instead, this has created even more confusion and disorder in managing the cadres.

Because of this, the Strategy To Stabilize and Develop the Economy and Society to the Year 2000 clearly states:

"Cadre work must be fundamentally renovated in accord with the new mechanism.

"Elected cadres who carry on activities based on a term of office must be clearly distinguished from government officials and professional civil servants.

"As for elected state management cadres, election standards include the qualities, knowledge, and capabilities necessary to shoulder the responsibilities if they are elected.

"Regulations for government officials and civil servants must be formulated in the spheres of state management, professional operations, and commercial production in order to form a rank of technical cadres who have quality, knowledge, and professional skills and who understand the law. The ranks of excellent businessmen, from the heads of family economic activities to the managers of large enterprises, must be expanded." [Footnote 1] ["Strategy to Stabilize and Develop the Economic and Society to the Year 2000," Su That Publishing House, 1991, pages 44, 45]

Distinguishing cadres is primarily a matter of classifying cadres and formulating specific regulations for each type of cadre so that the cadres can work actively based on their functions and specific tasks, struggle with their minds at ease, and accumulate experience in their work. At the same time, the state will be able to manage the cadres well and build a stable and long-term rank of cadres. Today, it is our understanding that the term "cadre" encompasses those people on the state staff with a salary grade of "worker 1" (or middle level 1) or higher. They work in state organizations from the central echelon to the localities and in party organizations, political and social mass organizations, state enterprises, and the Armed Forces. Cadres have the following basic characteristics: They have been assigned by the state and can invoke the name of the state in performing their tasks. They must have a position within the state apparatus in general. They must be elected, selected, promoted, and assigned tasks when they graduate or based on some other procedural order. They are to be compensated based on the nature of the work and on the amount of work done.

Based on this definition, many people here can be called "cadres." Because of this, distinguishing cadres is very difficult. This must be done very carefully and must be based on the following basic principles: the specific occupations and jobs of the cadres, the actual amount of time that the cadres spend performing those tasks, and which laws or regulations control the actions of the cadres.

Here, I would like to go more deeply into distinguishing cadres in the state sector. According to the resolution of the seventh party congress and the principles mentioned above, we can distinguish the cadres working in the state sector as follows:

1. Political activity cadres (or "elected cadres" for short):

The political activity cadres are elected cadres. These are the cadres who formulate policies and control national affairs from the central echelon to the localities. They are elected to a term of office by the people or by representatives of the people. From the lowest position—secretary of a district or ward people's council—to the highest position—president of the country—there are a total of 23 positions (not counting delegates to the National Assembly or delegates to the people's councils, because at present there is no professional system).

From the angle of the state, the political activity cadres do not promulgate standards on positions. That is in accord with the history and realities of our country and the world. Of course, in order to win election, the party in power and the social mass organizations must select people with adequate morals and talents to run as candidates.

The political activity cadres in our country matured during the revolutionary struggle, and they acquired their education in the "school of life." Because these cadres hold power and formulate national policy, the party must give particular attention to this rank of cadres and train them at political and social institutes.

In order to create operating conditions for the political activity cadres, for each position, besides the wage system, there are other measures that have been openly stipulated: means of travel, offices, and vacation periods. These are definitely not special rights and privileges as a number of people think.

The standard for political activity cadres is not the work period but the results achieved. The actions of these cadres are not governed by the labor laws but by separate stipulations for each position.

Cadres who were not elected but who were appointed and who have a specific term of office are considered to be political activity cadres, too.

2. Government officials:

Government officials are, in general, people who earn their living working for the state. Government officials must meet the following conditions: They must be citizens of Vietnam. They must be selected and appointed to a regular task. They can work in a government office at the central echelon or in a locality. They can work either here or abroad. They are placed on the roll of regular employees and are paid from the state budget.

Government officials are people who perform long-term and stable specialized tasks in the state apparatus. They

have legal qualifications and carry out their assigned tasks in the name of the state.

The actions of government officials are not regulated by the labor (judicial) laws but by government official regulations (public law). Their disputes are handled by a separate organization (in all countries, this is the administrative court). The obligations, rights, wages, awards, discipline, and other policies regarding government officials are stipulated specifically in the government official regulations.

Each government official is listed on a particular list of regular employees. This list is a concept that is used for government officials. It clearly states the work role, professional standards, and training standards of the government officials. Each list represents a level of training and a corresponding pay scale. Government officials who want to transfer from one list to another list must undergo training and be openly reselected. In the lists, attention is given to seniority. This encourages the government officials on the list to accumulate experience. The grades on the list must be calculated in such a way that a person who never changes lists can reach the highest grade.

Government officials are evaluated annually using a table of points instead of votes.

Building a rank of devoted government officials who have technical capabilities and a wholesome way of life is the decisive factor in building a law-governed state. Thus, in its 1993 resolution on formulating laws, the National Assembly entrusted the Standing Committee of the National Assembly with the task of promulgating laws on government official regulations.

3. Production and commercial civil servants in the state enterprises:

Civil servants who work in state corporations and enterprises operate in accord with the commercial laws, and their actions are controlled by the labor laws. They work in accord with the contracts agreed on by both sides as stipulated in the law. This is different from government officials, whose work is regulated by the government official regulations, which have a unilateral, voluntary nature. If a contract is violated, the dispute is resolved by the labor court.

There are two types of production and commercial civil servants in the state enterprises:

Technical and professional civil servants (such as engineers and technicians): These people have received technical training at middle schools and colleges. They perform technical tasks based on the contract agreed on. Their wages are paid as stipulated in the contract, and there is a wage scale guided by the state.

Enterprise administrators (directors of corporations and state enterprises): These people are appointed by the state (or they work on contract in cases in which the administrative contract model is used). The work of

these cadres is evaluated by the commercial production results. Enterprise administrators (directors) are usually technical and professional cadres who have matured in commercial production activities and who have been given additional training so that they can perform managerial work as a profession in society. The salaries and other compensation paid to this type of civil servant depend on the results of the production and commercial activities and not on the state budget, which is the case with elected cadres and government officials.

The role of the enterprise administrators is very important, because whether the enterprise makes a profit or suffers a loss is up to them. We must build a rank of capable enterprise administrators who thoroughly understand the market economy in order to quickly develop our country's economy. In the present stage, training this type of civil servant has become a necessity not only for the state enterprises but also for the other economic elements.

4. Cadres in the Armed Forces:

Cadres in the Armed Forces are engaged in defending the country and maintaining social and political security. Thus, their work has special characteristics. They are subject to the laws pertaining to the Armed Forces. Their labor is calculated by the sacrifices made. Thus, there must be special training and compensation measures.

Distinguishing cadres is a systematic task that is related to many spheres and many elements. In order to provide guidance, the party and state, along with the economic and social development strategy, must immediately formulate a cadre strategy to meet the needs of tomorrow and, above all, today. Only if there is a completed cadre strategy will it be possible to carry out all the tasks related to cadre work, which includes distinguishing cadres.

However, there is no need to perfect things first or wait. Economic-social and political-social development

require corresponding improvement in the organizational apparatus, which includes cadre work. Thus, in my view, we must immediately begin doing the following:

1. We must review, inspect, and evaluate the entire rank of cadres. The key thing is to inspect and reevaluate the various types of cadres with adequate standards to be assigned, trained, and put to use immediately in a rational manner.

2. We must then formulate various laws: labor laws, administrative laws, commercial laws, laws on the Armed Forces, and laws on government officials. This is related to organizing agencies have jurisdiction: labor courts, administrative courts, and economic courts.

3. Training, selection, and use policies must be formulated for each type of cadre. The entire training system (schools and institutes) and the training programs for each type of cadre must be reorganized. The selection of new people must adhere to the above stipulations.

4. The existing staff must be managed closely for each type of cadre. The work of managing human affairs must be renovated and improved in a scientific way, and things must be unified nationwide. We must overcome the situation in which there are many cadre files but the indexes necessary are lacking and those that do exist are incorrect.

Distinguishing cadres is now encountering many obstacles because of the old way of thinking and because of the historical effects of an unsystematic, emotional, and undisciplined way of doing things. Thus, suitable and concrete steps must be chosen in order to maintain stability, satisfy the requirements of renovation, and overcome the shortcomings of the previous stage.

Financial Mechanisms and Cultural and Social Development

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 93 pp 51-53

[Article by Nguyen Van Chau; not translated]

Is Decision 217 'Pushing the Party Out'?

933E0012E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 93 pp 54-57

[Article by Vu Ngoc Lan]

[Text] "217 is pushing the party out" has been a rather familiar phrase for several years now in the state enterprises. It is generally understood to mean that since the Council of Ministers (now the government) issued Decision 217 on giving control to the primary-level economic units, the role of the party organizations at these units has declined. The party has lost its "standing" and is just a "secondary" organization. The directors are the people who have the power to make the decisions on almost all the important issues.

What is the truth? Is it true that "217 is pushing the party out?" Answering these questions is not easy or simple. At present, there are still many different ideas, and there is still no persuasive or satisfying explanation. Many party committee echelons and directors are concerned and worried.

In this article, I do not intend to analyze the pros and cons of "217," and I can't explain the problem in all respects. But based on surveys of the actual situation at a number of state enterprises, what I want to do is make a number of observations in order to contribute to studying this matter.

Recently, at some places, the party committee echelons have been put in a secondary position and slighted, and they have not manifested their leadership role. The reasons for this are as follows:

1. The directors do not fully understand "217" or have intentionally violated this decision.

Since it was implemented several years ago, Council of Ministers Decision 217 has gradually been revised and perfected by other state documents. But from the very beginning, turning over control to the primary-level economic units has never meant giving all power to the directors. But because they have not fully understood Decision 217 or have intentionally violated this decision, some directors have made almost all the decisions on important problems, from formulating production and commercial plans and distribution formulas to promoting, employing, assigning, selecting, and firing cadres and workers. In some places, the directors have sometimes ignored the party committee echelon or discussed things with the party committee echelon or party committee secretary only for form's sake. Sometimes, the directors have said one thing but done another and argued that because of the "market mechanism," they have had to make myriad changes. An initial study in one ward in Hanoi showed that only about 32 percent of the directors have a party spirit, been cooperative, and taken steps to enable the party committee echelon to carry on activities. About 15 percent of the directors

have infringed on, slighted, ignored, and been uncooperative with the party organizations or party committee secretaries. Many directors have formed cliques, looked for "allies," and tried to profit personally. Because they lack a concept of organization and discipline and because their party spirit is weak, a number of directors regard "217" as a "release from the shackles." They feel that this gives them broad scope for carrying on activities. Some directors regard the money, property, and means of the state as their own and that they have the right to use and dispose of these things as they want. The mass organizations are just "secondary" or "subservient" organizations or organizations that can be ordered about. No one can lead, control, or supervise a number of enterprises subordinate to the district echelon.

The above manifestations of a number of directors have contributed to diminishing the leadership role of the party organizations, particularly when Decision 217 was first implemented. Even though there are now fewer directors who are abusing their powers or infringing on the powers of the party committee echelons or even though they may not be as bold as before, this is still a problem in some places. In some places, there are still cases in which such phenomena as "turning their backs on each other" and "willing in their speech but not in their hearts" still exist between the enterprise heads and the party committee echelons and between the directors and the party committee secretaries.

2. The party bases and party members have fallen short of Decision 217.

Shifting from a state subsidies administrative management mechanism to a market mechanism is an important renovation. But a number of party bases in the state enterprises and many party members have responded promptly to the situation or renovated their leadership. The confusion in leadership formulas has resulted in their moving away from their positions and being lax in playing their leadership role. At a number of enterprises, there are many party members, but they are weak and can't play a vanguard and model role. Today, party members in the state enterprises account for approximately 10-15 percent of all party members among the cadres, workers, and civil servants. In the state enterprises, about 50-60 percent of the party members work for the offices and boards. In the direct production sector, the figure is 35-40 percent. Only 25-30 percent of the party members in the enterprises are in the model vanguard category. Fifty percent of the party members give attention only to production and commercial affairs. Little attention is given to propaganda work or to mobilizing the masses. About 10-15 percent of the party members have "quality," but their technical capabilities are weak and their level of understanding is low. Two percent of the party members have committed disciplinary infractions. A number of party bases lack the capabilities to lead, control, and supervise the operations of the enterprises. In some places, the party committee secretary is not the center of cadre and worker solidarity and does not have the strength to persuade or inspire

trust. The concept of "the party leads in all respects" has become mechanical and dogmatic in a number of places and because of this, although the party "embraces" everything, "actions do not accord with wishes." For this reason, at a number of enterprises, when the directors fail to explain the programs, plans, difficulties, and problems of the unit to the party committee echelons and secretaries, this is regarded as an abuse of power and lack of a party spirit. But when they do do this, the party committee echelons and secretaries don't have any answers and can't solve the problems, because they do not have the knowledge or capabilities and do not understand markets and prices. This is without mentioning the fact that many enterprises lack work and have been disbanded. The party members have gone to work elsewhere and abandoned the activities, and the party organizations can't assemble or control the party members. Also, a number of party committee echelons and secretaries work together to cover up the mistakes and shortcomings of the heads.

3. The standards and capabilities of the party committee secretaries and directors do not match each other.

A very important factor that helps decide whether an enterprise succeeds or fails is the role of the director and party committee secretary and the relationship between these two people. If the party committee echelon wants to lead, control, and supervise the production and commercial activities and not be "forced out," the person at the head must be a person of quality and have standards and capabilities equal to (or even superior to) those of the director. But today, few party bases have such secretaries, with the exception of a number of secretaries who serve concurrently as director or general director. Surveying many bases in Hanoi, we saw this quite clearly. For example, in Hoan Kiem Ward in Hanoi, at 25 party bases in various state enterprises (18 bases were in the industrial sector and seven were in the commercial sector; 17 bases were subordinate to the central echelon, and eight were subordinate to localities), nine party organizations were strong, 15 were good, and one was weak. At these 25 bases, there were eight full-time secretaries, there were nine secretaries who served concurrently as deputy director, there were six secretaries who served as office chiefs and supervisors, and there were two secretaries who did not have technical positions. The following table compares secretaries and directors at the 25 enterprises mentioned above in terms of educational and theoretical and political standards and managerial and leadership capabilities:

Standards-Capabilities	Secretaries	Directors
College or higher	13 people	22 people
Middle general school	9 people	3 people
Primary general school	3 people	0 people
Theoretical-Political		
High level	5 people	0 people
Middle level	8 people	21 people

Primary level	2 people	4 people
Did not attend a regular school	10 people	0 people
Work capabilities		
Good	7 people	22 people
Average	15 people	3 people
Poor	3 people	0 people

Based on statistics compiled on 123 party bases in Hai Ba Trung Ward in Hanoi, in general the leadership standards and capabilities of the party committee secretaries are much more limited than those of the directors. For example, with respect to educational standards, 53 percent of the secretaries have a college standard or higher as compared with 80 percent for directors. At the 41 state enterprises that were surveyed, only 21 of the secretaries had a middle general school education, but all of the directors had a college education or higher. According to the initial evaluation, in this ward, only 23 percent of the secretaries are "equal" to the directors.

Today, many party committee secretaries are just office chiefs or workshop supervisors, or they do not have a technical leadership position. Because of this, it is very difficult for the secretaries and the directors to "talk" with each other. In the state enterprises, there are five types of party committee secretaries. First, there are full-time secretaries (who used to have or who have never held technical leadership positions). Second are general secretaries or directors who serve concurrently as secretary. Third are deputy general directors or deputy directors who serve concurrently as secretary. Fourth are office heads or supervisors who serve concurrently as secretary. And fifth are party members who do not have a technical leadership position who serve as secretary. Statistics compiled on the 123 state enterprises in Hai Ba Trung Ward in Hanoi show that 26 of the directors or general directors serve concurrently as secretary, 32 deputy directors serve concurrently as secretary, 43 of the office heads and supervisors serve concurrently as secretary, and 22 of the secretaries are full-time secretaries. From the situation at the above enterprises and a number of other enterprises, it can be seen that in general, the second and third types are the most effective. At those places, coordination between the positions of party committee secretary and enterprise director is better than with the other models.

4. We lack a mechanism to select, train, and elect people to ensure that party committee members and secretaries are chosen correctly.

Different methods are used to select directors or general directors and party committee secretaries in the enterprises, and many times, this creates a gap between these two leading people. The director or general director is appointed by higher echelons, but the party committee echelon and secretary are elected at the enterprise party organization congress. For various reasons, there are times when the appointment of the directors and the

election of the party committees and secretaries is not correct. Party cadres are not being prepared in a timely or careful manner for the new management mechanism, and this is causing cadres to lose their balance. Sometimes, comparisons are made, but party secretaries "equal" to the directors still aren't selected. At a number of enterprises, before electing the party committee and secretary, they fail to prepare the human affairs activities and fail to ensure that the cadres and party members fully understand the role and position of the party committee and secretary. Thus, they frequently elect the wrong people, and the people elected do not have adequate standards. Some enterprises choose a "kind" and "good-natured" person to serve as secretary as if "anyone will do." Some factories have selected the head of the defense office to serve as party committee secretary, and in some places the secretary is a 7/7-grade worker. Even though these people have technical experience, they are weak in other respects. Some enterprises have replaced the secretary several times but still haven't been able to satisfy the production and business requirements based on the new mechanism. Besides this, with the concept that production and business are the tasks of the director, the party committee echelon and the secretary focus mainly on ideological education. A number of party bases have abandoned their role themselves.

5. The procedures and policies on cadres engaged in party activities are not rational.

The management mechanism has changed, but we still don't have unified and rational procedures and policies on cadres engaged in party work. In the new mechanism, there must be both "rice and money." But the party bases lack both "rice" and "money" in order to carry on activities and train and reward the cadres and party members. With 30 percent of party expenditures reserved, the party bases do not have enough money to buy tea and water for party meetings and activities. At enterprises that are making a profit, only if the director is generous and concerned will the party organization "have some money." But at many party bases, the reality is that they don't money with which to carry on activities. Or if they do, the money comes in irregularly. This depends completely on the psychological situation and emotions of the head. If he approves this, fine; if he doesn't, they are "out of luck." The salaries of the cadres engaged in party work are usually lower than those of people engaged in technical work. And they don't receive "bonuses." For a long time, the salaries of the cadres engaged full-time in party work at the enterprises have been paid by higher-echelon party organizations. Thus, there is no relationship between their daily work and their incomes or the profits of the enterprise. Today, in general, the incomes of the party cadres are low, they lack the means to do their jobs, and the work is complex and unattractive. Thus, many party cadres want to switch to technical work. A number of directors and general directors who serve concurrently as party committee secretary are busy with their role as director and so they slight or even forget about their role as director.

We are sad and concerned about the weaknesses discussed above. But we are happy about the overall "picture" of the state enterprises, which have many bright points after several years of facing challenges in implementing Decision 217. Many enterprises are strong, operations are profitable, and revenues are increasing. Many enterprises are earning hundreds of billions of dong a year. The fact that approximately 30 percent of the enterprises are growing stronger and expanding is proof that Decision 217 is not "pushing the party out" and that the party has made a decisive contribution to implementing Decision 217. As for those enterprises that are doing well and that are growing, it can be seen that the leadership of the party committee echelons, the role of the secretaries, and the solidarity and close coordination between the secretaries and directors are important factors for achieving results. At the Federation of Vietnamese Tea Enterprises, during the past 10 years, using the "secretary council" model, the federation has built a group of more than 30 party committee secretaries at the tea enterprises in the country who have all done a good job and achieved results. In this federation, there is nothing to indicate that "217 has pushed the party out." The Hanoi Federated Textile Enterprise has been making a profit for several years now. It is a progressive example in the light industry sector. An important thing is that it has relied on the roles of the secretary and director and the symmetry of these groups to create a strong rank of core cadres. In the light industry sector, there are 10 strong enterprises that are moving forward and achieving results, but the leadership committee is composed entirely of women. The Hanoi Beer Plant and the 10 October Textile Enterprise are led by women who cooperate with each other in formulating plans, overcoming the difficulties, and carrying on business effectively. The reason why the Thai Binh Federated Drug Enterprise is so strong even though many local enterprises have had to disband is that there has been good cooperation between the party committee secretary, the director, the trade union, and the youth union. Although they belong to the machine sector and their products are difficult to sell, the Precision Tool Enterprise and the Electrical Machinery Plant still have work. One of the reasons for this is that they have built a rank of talented, dynamic, and creative core cadres and party chapter secretaries. Many enterprises that have experience in resolving difficulties have gradually accustomed themselves to the new mechanism, found a way to move forward, and begun scoring encouraging results. This includes the Thai Nguyen Federated Iron and Steel Enterprise, Central Pharmaceutical Enterprise II, the Hai Ha Candy Factory, the Sao Vang Rubber Factory, the Rang Dong Light Bulb and Vacuum Bottle Plant, the Thuong Dinh Canvas Shoe Enterprise, and Sewing Enterprise 40.

Every enterprise and every party base has different advantages, difficulties, circumstances, and conditions and a different environment. But the following common experiences can be drawn from these party bases:

The party organization executive committees have been formed in accord with the standards, and the party committee members are talented and knowledgeable people with experience in party party. Only if each party committee member serves as a capable staff person will the party committee collective be able to serve as the "staff" for the party organization in setting targets and formulating the production and business plans of the enterprise and making decision on other important issues.

The party committee secretary must thoroughly understand the important and urgent tasks and the problems that need to be discussed collectively in order to formulate the best plan. To do this, the secretaries must have economic, social, scientific and technical, and legal knowledge, and they must be experienced in leading and managing enterprises and mass organizations.

The party committee secretaries and directors must forge a close relationship, take responsibility, constantly elevate the spirit of solidarity and cooperation, work for the common good, and respect and help each other. The secretaries and directors must understand the psychology and behavior of each other and respect the individuality of each other. They must struggle to unify the various issues.

From the realities mentioned above, I do not think that "Decision 217 is pushing the party out." The important problem is that the party committee echelons in the enterprises must clearly understand their role and

responsibility and quickly move forward to satisfy the requirements of the new situation. At the same time, the directors must have a lofty party spirit and a concept of organization and discipline, and they must correctly implement the principles of party life.

In order to create favorable conditions for the party bases at the state enterprises to operate better, the Secretariat of the CPV Central Committee recently issued specific regulations on the functions and tasks of the party organizations and party chapters at the state enterprises. If those regulations of the Secretariat are understood thoroughly and implemented resolutely, the role and position of the party organizations at the state enterprises will certainly be maintained and developed. However, there must be a mechanism for selecting and electing party committees and secretaries with adequate standards so that they are equal to the directors and in order to build a group "with one heart and one mind" that can move the enterprise forward.

The party must give much more attention to training the ranks of party cadres in the enterprises so that they can gradually adapt to the new situation. There must be rational and unified compensation procedures and policies with respect to salaries and bonuses. There must be an operating fund for party cadres and primary-level party organizations, and conditions must be created to enable the party members and those engaged in party work to set their minds at ease and enthusiastically support the work of the party.

Bill Clinton: Where To Look To Revive America?

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 93 pp 58-60

[Article by Vu Hien; not translated]

The Chinese Model

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 93 pp 61-62

[Article not translated]

Dogmatism; Empiricism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 6, Jun 93 p 63

[Article not translated]

Activities of the State-Level KX.03 Science Program*933E0012F TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 93 pp 63-64*

[Text] The KX.03 program to "renovate and perfect the economic policies and economic management mechanisms" is headed by Professor Vu Dinh Bach, the president of the National College of Economics, and the organization that is overseeing this program is the National College of Economics. More than 400 scientists from the spheres of economics, management, and law and many management cadres in the ministries and central sectors are participating in this research.

To date, conferences have been organized on almost all of the program's 17 topics. In particular, an all-program conference was held in Hanoi at the end of December 1992. At these conferences, many theoretical and practical issues concerning economic management have been discussed and debated.

1. Evaluation of the situation in renovating and development the economy and renovating our country's economic management mechanism during the past several years: Everyone agreed that since the sixth and seventh party congresses, our country's economy has undergone many changes. The policy of developing a multifaceted commodity economy and the various policies and measures of the state to stimulate things have helped the private economy to expand. Many private enterprises, with a variety of forms, have been established. Many state enterprises have gradually looked for a new direction by renovating techniques and improving product quality.

2. The issue of the socialist orientation of the multifaceted commodity economy: A number of people said that a socialist orientation is manifested primarily in the social aspect of the economy. That is, there is unity between the economic targets and the political-social targets. This refers to integrating individual interests with collective and state interests and to protecting the rights of the laborers and ensuring the all-round growth of people.

3. Views on developing the economy and renovating the economic management mechanism: The major issues on which those at the conference agreed included ensuring that the various economic elements are all equal before the law with respect to rights and obligations in economic activities; ensuring that the enterprises carry on economic activities based on the laws with a spirit of "obtaining authorization to engage in activities not prohibited by the law"; changing the economic structure based on the idea that industrialization is the necessary path in order to develop and modernize the economy,

with the emphasis being on strengthening technical standards in each production sector and stepping up the processing of agricultural products; implementing fiscal and monetary policies in a synchronized way, maintaining a tight monetary policy and not printing money in order to reduce the budget deficit, cutting back on management expenses, and mobilizing capital from the people; and strengthening the management powers and capabilities of the state through promulgating a system of policies and laws for management.

Those at the conference expressed different opinions on the following questions, which need to be studied further:

In which direction should the economy be opened, to the outside or internally? Some said that we must have an external orientation if we are to increase export capabilities, gradually increase Vietnam's economic role in the international economy, and quickly increase our gross import-export value. But others said that we must have an internal orientation, gradually replace imports, strive to satisfy most of market needs of our 70 million people, and gradually increase the use target of the people with goods produced domestically.

Should monopolies be opposed or limited? The general opinion was that we must create an environment of free and wholesome competition, that is, competition based on improving product quality, satisfying tastes and consumer needs better, and providing more civilized and courteous support. The above opinion gave rise to two views: Some said that we must oppose monopolies in order to protect free competition and oppose the abuses and market control of monopolies. Others said that we must continue to have monopolies in certain spheres. Thus, we shouldn't use the word "oppose." Instead, we should use the phrase "limit monopolies." But we must oppose special rights and the use of influence, which could create difficulties for the consumers. The way to oppose monopolies is through state intervention.

How should the tools be used to control inflation? Almost everyone affirmed the achievements that we have scored in using fiscal and monetary measures to reduce inflation. However, some said that these are just immediate measures. The basic measure is to expand production in a firm manner, stabilize production, and use suitable measures in a synchronized way in order to control inflation better. We must also study deflationary tendencies and measures to control this.

Scientific Debate on Confucianism and Vietnamese Culture*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 6, Jun 93 p 64*

[Article not translated]

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